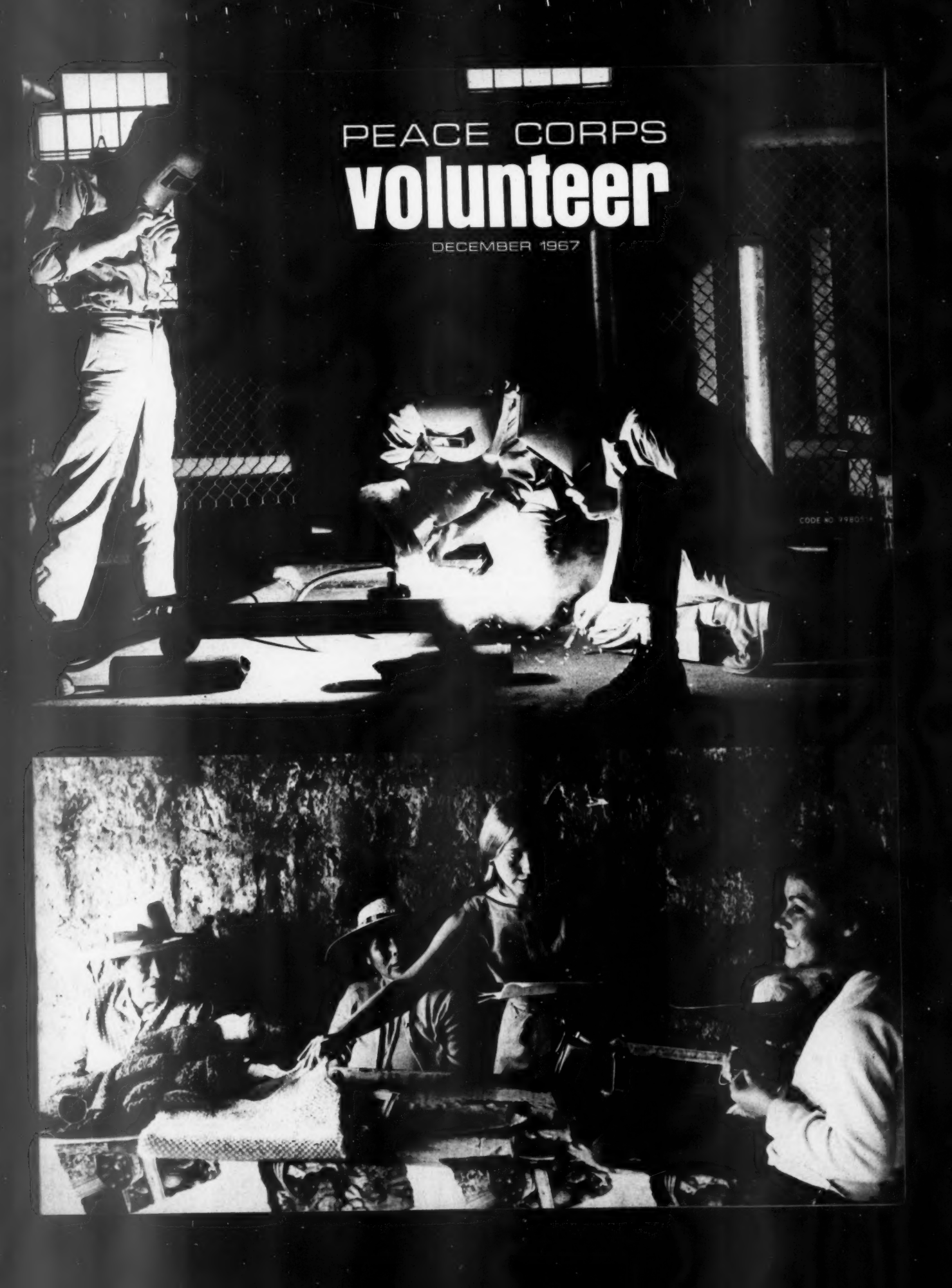
PEACE CORPS
volunteer
DECEMBER 1967

Another opinion in a continuing debate

An approach to the city

The article by Paul Cowan raises a number of points which affect urban-based Volunteers generally and professionals specifically. His "Program dies in the city" in THE VOLUNTEER (May) suggests an intriguing contrast between the experiences of his Ecuadorian group and those of the municipal management program now serving in the cities of Venezuela.

Among its other objectives the municipal management group is attempting to prove that the city is as valid a Peace Corps site as any other locale, and that urban work can be as challenging and effective as other assignments.

Professional talent

Briefly, the 32 members of this program are blatantly professional by education and abashedly confident by experience. The group consists of 16 lawyers, 7 architects, 2 industrial designers, 2 city planners, 1 civil engineer and 4 Volunteer wives. The program director is a Venezuelan attorney and former personnel officer for the AID mission here, the first host country national in Peace Corps experience to serve in this capacity. The group was invited by and receives significant technical support from the National Foundation for Community Development and Municipal Improvement. Its function is to help provide middle-level manpower skills in the *concejos municipales*, Venezuela's principal units of local government, and to stimulate increased responsiveness on their part to the basic requisites of the lower classes. The Volunteers live in barrios and engage in various facets of community development, which may or may not be related to the nature of their tasks in the *concejos*. Ten months into the fray, they are involved in projects that span the imagination, from creation of an automated billing system and the establishment of a garbage collection department to placement of garbage cans in the barrios and design of kiosks for a bullring.

The program in Guayaquil, Ecuador, described by Mr. Cowan, is directly similar to the Venezuelan one only in the sense that in both instances Volunteers were placed in a local government situation. However, the questions he poses are appropriate to professional and urban Volunteers elsewhere.

First among these is the programming, planning and site selection. Mr. Cowan seems to indicate that the Peace Corps staff in Ecuador selected one city, a quite large and administratively complex one at that, and proceeded to stuff it with a potpourri of various skill-equipped Volunteers. That was an initial mistake. The second mistake was a failure to take into account the apparent instability of the local government which at the time of the group's arrival was under the helm of a new mayor ("the third in six months") and a new city council. And the head of the department of community development, to whom most of the group was assigned, and presumably with whom the Peace Corps staff had made suitable work arrangements, had made plans to take leave for a few months.

In Venezuela, the program director, together with Foundation personnel, after correspondence and personal visits with *concejo* presidents, selected more than 20 cities of various sizes. Site selection was made with a number of factors in mind, among them need, political and administrative realities, past progress, present Foundation priorities and willingness to pay the Volunteer's salary (this is at least some measure of a *concejo's* interest, and is based on the maxim that what you pay for, you make work). Then, after meeting individually with the Volunteers during the training and upon arrival in-country, the director assigned each Volunteer to the *concejo* where it was thought his particular talent could be utilized most fully, and to the extent possible, to the size of the city in which the Volunteer desired to be situated.

In most instances, the Volunteer is stationed alone and, except in one large city where a lawyer, planner and engineer are in the same *concejo*, there are never more than two, always of complementary backgrounds, together. Out of 32 assignments there have been only 4 site shifts, which have worked out satisfactorily. Most interestingly, to date no more than two of the group are involved, and they only part-time, in the land taxation work for which the group was ostensibly trained.

A long time ago a poet with considerable insight wrote something of fools and angels. Given that the fools wandered into an ineptly planned situation, their opportunity to become angels was sadly squandered. This is pertinent to mistake number two—the failure to anticipate the local situation. Is it possible that an entire Peace Corps project, especially one placed in a Latin American government which moves as much by *personalismo* as it does by planning, could collapse within one month without some of the blame being laid at the feet of the Volunteers? Mr. Cowan states that this elitist band of gringos needed only a few weeks to reach the conclusion that the incredibly complex arena of political and administrative decision-making "seemed permanently sealed off," and they were doomed, therefore, to the status of errand boys. Indeed, they hardly had time to make friends with the secretaries!

Sophistication required

Peace Corps Volunteers, certainly professionals, must realize that working with or within a local government unit of a foreign country is a most delicate and sensitive proposition. Some degree of political sophistication, coupled with healthy portions of common sense, patience and, perhaps most importantly, a sense of humor, is required. The incurably naive must be checked at the door. The Volunteer who shuffles about sustaining himself with mutterings that

he is the difference between "peaceful revolution and bloodshed" is doomed.

Members of the Venezuelan group, especially the lawyers (the more "technical" architectural types were generally handed some sort of initial assignment), were ecstatic to report by the fifth month that they were beginning to make any sort of headway in relatively definable situations. As hinted above, the definitions are now often being fleshed out in the garbage department. The fact is that a good amount of time had to be invested into simply studying the *concejo* routine and making individual judgments concerning possibilities for effective contribution. It is doubtful that the Volunteer is being rejected in these early months; more likely, his hosts are taking an opportunity to meet and know him, and on their terms. Only when they have some confidence in him and have spent hours leading into months talking with him and watching him produce something—be it the simplest report or the smallest chart—will they be able to work alongside him. This period of time is most crucial; the relationship then gained will be important to all manner of future endeavor. The point is deceptively simple. It's hard work.

There is another important aspect that the *concejo* Volunteer cannot overlook. He must seek out and develop relationships with other governmental bodies, most likely at the national but perhaps also at the state level. Funds and technical support are often available if proper sources are tapped. The Venezuelan group receives vital assistance from the Foundation for Community Development and Municipal Improvement. Volunteers have also developed significant relationships with the national and regional offices of the Ministry of Public Works and Banco Obrero, the country's housing agency, among others. Certainly Venezuela has achieved a stage of development and possesses financial resources to an extent greater than most countries in which the Peace Corps functions, but the notion that the Volunteer can act as an effective catalytic agent between the local government and other potentially interested agencies is a valid one regardless of location.

Another point raised by the article from Ecuador relates to the status of the municipal Volunteer in the barrio and his relationship to existing neighborhood political and social structures. Why must the Volunteer "pretend to the poor people," his neighbors, that he is "one of them" when he realizes as well as they that this is a lie? The host country national will never "doubt the integrity of the Volunteer" if from the beginning the Volunteer simply and honestly explains who he is and what he and the Peace Corps are attempting to do. Of course the host is interested in the new clothes and the radio and the tape recorder, and of course he realizes the Volunteer spends more in a week on food than he does in a month. But does not his mistrust and disillusionment arise less from this fact of life than from the gringo's nervous self-consciousness and condescending, self-righteous attempts to impress upon his neighbors the inherent superiority of his "democratic" ideas? Every Volunteer confronts this dilemma. If no one can solve it, the Peace Corps dies not only in the city but period.

Meaningful work

More often than not *juntas* and committees are run by men whose simple, natural struggle for survival has well equipped them for roles as neighborhood leaders. The Volunteer does not have to impress these people. If he is a professional working in the city government and involved in a project that may possibly advance the physical well-being of a barrio, he has a beautiful opportunity to meet and mobilize its leadership. Rest assured, they will not need very much mobilization. Months will pass before that project (maybe) achieves fruition. The Volunteer accompanying a barrio leader on a visit to the mayor's office may not have too much effect on the process, but if he has successfully carved out a meaningful position for himself and has been able to mobilize available resources, he just may be able to witness some satisfying accomplishments.

Given a well conceived and thoroughly planned project, the Peace Corps can continue to face the abundance of problems gnawing away in the rapidly growing cities of the underdeveloped countries. That there are failures is only more reason to experiment and continue. The fight against poverty and for the dignity of the human being is now, here.

By MAX B. ROTHMAN
Barcelona, Venezuela

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ON THE COVER: At top, blue-collar workers in Peace Corps training, photographed by Paul Conklin. Henry Norman writes about industrial workers—and work—in the Peace Corps, starting on page 12. At bottom, Richard N. Baldinger has captured Peru Volunteer Jackie Chandler using work samples to display a point she is making to members of her knitting cooperative. John Hatch's description of another communications tool, verbal imagery, begins on page 6.

A view of the Peace Corps as flower power without acid

The passive idealists

We were talking—about the love we all could share—when we find it

To try our best to hold it there —with our love

With our love—we could save the world—if they only knew.

—GEORGE HARRISON

The search for a Peace Corps definition and philosophy has reached a new stage. Whereas previous attempts were within the framework of traditional Peace Corps thought, such as the goals as stated in the Peace Corps Act, the new definitions absorb the pop culture of today and try to show the Peace Corps as a logical extension of pop thought.

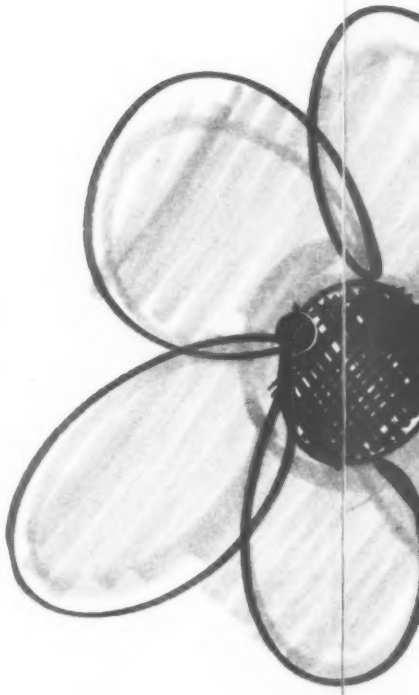
Thus we have the attempts to explain the Peace Corps as a "cool" medium, in Marshall McLuhan's mass communications terms (THE VOLUNTEER, October). The Peace Corps is engaged in a low definition (cool) task, while the staff demands high definition (hot) feedback. Hence, the image crisis. Further, the Volunteer really is "an agent of communication" in "the global village (which) transcends culture."

The problem is, of course, that most Volunteers don't think of themselves or their work in these terms—and they tend to reject any definitions that categorize and pigeonhole themselves or their roles.

Of late, however, new attempts are being made to link "flower power" with the Peace Corps concept. "We should revitalize 'flower power' as a central element of Peace Corps philosophy. Jack Vaughn has done this in several of his speeches," David Berlew (THE VOLUNTEER, November) has suggested. Is flower power, as the hippie philosophy, alien to Peace Corps philosophy? In my view, Peace Corps *is* flower power, without the acid.

Why does a Volunteer come overseas in the first place? Essentially because (1) he wants to postpone the draft; (2) he has nothing else to do immediately after college; or (3) he feels there is something he can do to help somebody else. Peace Corps used to emphasize the third motivation and has run into recent criticism for encouraging the second.

Most Volunteers undoubtedly join because they care, because they feel that something must and can be done, although what that something is may be difficult to pin down. In other words, most Volunteers join out of a deep love and respect for humanity—perhaps combined with a feeling of guilt that America can have so much while most people have so little.

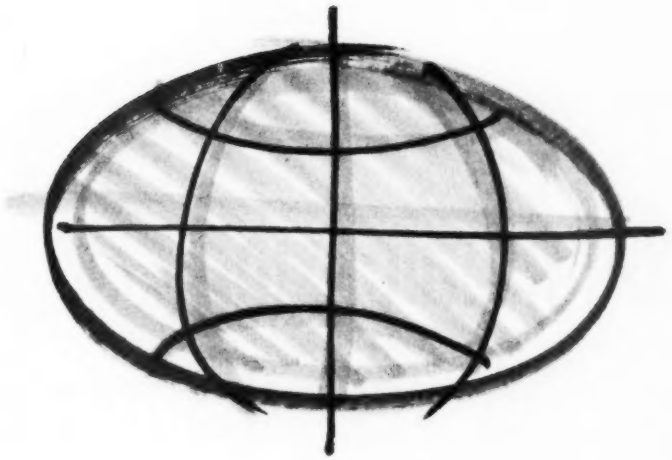


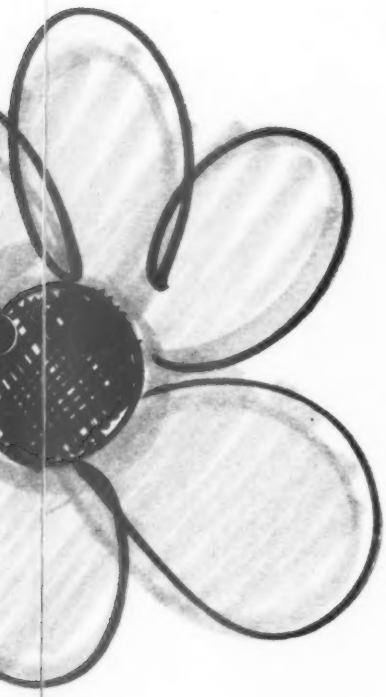
These emotions are there now—and they were there from the beginning. America is a nation full of latent idealists, constantly reminded of their humble past and their present wealth, and constantly giving to organizations committed to doing something for others. The Peace Corps exploited this idealism and the first Volunteers were not really so young—but full of the

spirit of hope and change embodied by John Kennedy.

Since then we've developed into an institution and as such have become an acceptable means of venting idealism, similar to donating to CARE or Goodwill Industries or being a "Big Brother." But this institutionalization has turned off a lot of those who seek other, less "acceptable" outlets.

Two years ago, when the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and the Students for a Democratic Society were doing the real work in the urban ghettos (and getting kicked around for it), Peace Corps decided that activists would make sensational





Volunteers and launched a drive to seduce them into "going straight." Few, if any, responded.

Now that the hippies have captured the imagination of the idealist generation, Peace Corps has begun to lure the flower people.

But the Peace Corps can't be the haven for all idealists—for the activist as well as the passivist, for the hippie as well as the square. That the activist would rather work in Newark than Nepal, that the hippie would rather get high and escape than involve himself are what distinguish activists and hippies from Volunteers.

The result is that what we have serving overseas are passive idealists —people who perhaps want to give more of themselves but don't know how to do it, or who feel self-conscious about doing it. The Volunteer who can walk down the street with his arms spread around a dozen children; the Volunteer who leaves people crying when he goes home; the Volunteer who actually has an effect on the emotions of the people with whom he is living—these are rare.

America is a nation which inhibits outward signs of emotion. The couple that holds hands walking down the street, the man who cries in public, who kisses in public, who laughs too loud—they are discouraged by society.

But the Peace Corps, and the role of the Volunteer, demand just the opposite. Volunteers, by the very nature of their fishbowl world, have to be sensitive. They must be able to relate to the people with whom they are living.

Yet, no provision is made in training for teaching introverts how to handle the fishbowl, or how to handle the lack of outlets for their inward, personal emotion. These are the Volunteers who crawl deeper into themselves, creating thicker and thicker shells to protect their egos.

If it is love that the Peace Corps wants, if it is emotion that the Volunteer needs—where is the training for the emotional skills beyond the training for the job skills? The Volunteer, in order to survive, must be able to give and receive, must love and be loved, must care and be cared for.

It is this extra giving, this extra caring, this extra love that is the essence of the "ideal experience." Yet, the institution seems incapable of expressing issues in these terms. Issues are stated in terms of role, or image, or salary, or whatever, but never in terms of the heart. The blowup over compound living in Nigeria missed the real point: if you want to know, to love, to have an emotional experience with real people, you have to get off the compound. This point was never raised.

Neither the Peace Corps nor host governments want Volunteers who are only nice guys and make a lot of friends. But, as Jack Vaughn told me once, "If you want to teach, get a contract. If you join the Peace Corps, it's because you want something more." It's also because you want to give something more. And this isn't hippie-think or flower power —it's personal.

By GEORGE CHUZI
Kano, Nigeria

George Chuzi spent his first 20 years in the Bronx and reports that "I first experienced culture shock when my parents moved to New Jersey." He is a Volunteer with the Teacher In-Service Educational Program (TISEP) for Northern Nigeria.

By JOHN HATCH

Communicating in verbal images

As an agent of change the Peace Corps Volunteer is essentially a motivator of people. He seeks not to impose change but to encourage people to change themselves. People change because they have a reason or incentive to do so. They must feel that change is in their own interest, or that of their sons, their family, their community. It is the job of the motivator to communicate this interest convincingly, to describe reasons and incentives for change in a manner which can be easily understood by people who have little or no education and whose view of the world is greatly restricted.

To communicate effectively is a difficult job and one which few Volunteers manage to do well. It cannot be done by pantomine or hand signals alone, nor can one always depend on a movie, slide show, or other visual aids. Instead, in most, if not all, episodes in which a Volunteer seeks to motivate others he must rely on his ability to *verbalize* concepts. He must express himself in language. He must choose words which convey the same meaning to others as to himself. This presupposes a certain degree of fluency.

But it is not a matter of language fluency only. Were fluency the principal ingredient of effective communication, our host counterparts would all be perfectly fit for the job of motivating their countrymen, which is not at all the case. It is a frequent experience to see host country professionals speaking over the heads of their less-educated audiences: the extension agent speaking to Sierra Indians about slope gradients, chemicals, degrees and percentages; or an extensionist lulling the farmers of an agricultural cooperative into dull somnolence as he explains refined concepts of administration, management, or the social philosophy of Robert Owen. And in areas where flowery public speech-making is commonplace, fluency often runs rampant with the object being not what one says but how elaborately he says it. Here it becomes obvious that language fluency is only effective in communication and motivation when kept under strict control.

On the other hand, there are many Peace Corps Volunteers who have adequate vocabulary and command of Spanish grammar to communicate basic concepts and ideas effectively but who are not "getting through" to the people they seek to motivate. They are missing the target.

The problem is a "communication gap." It arises from the fact that the Volunteer's life experience has been endlessly extended by reading, travel and formal education. He comes from an environment in which he shares an enormous body of concepts and experiences in common with many other people. He is accustomed to communicating in the abstract and to taking for granted the ability of others to do so. Consequently, the difference between his and the *campesino's* life experience is so large it is practically unimaginable.

Yet for purposes of communication the Volunteer needs to bridge this gap and to dramatize his communication much more than he has ever done before.

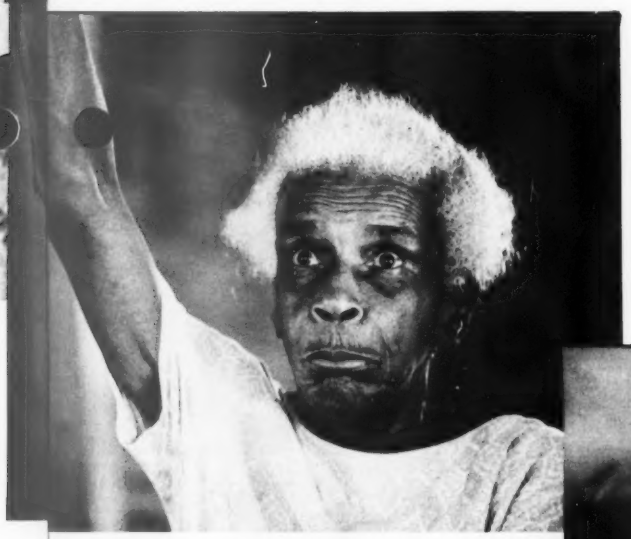
In comparison with other cultures, North Americans tend to be reserved people. When we speak, our gestures are simple, our bodies remain

rigid. English is not nearly as expressive as Spanish. Thus the effectiveness with which a Volunteer communicates in Spanish depends not only on the content he communicates but on *how* he communicates it—the tone of his voice, the color and imagination with which he describes things, the way he moves his arms and body and the way he works his face.

For thousands of years before man learned to read, and for many centuries since, the transfer of knowledge from generation to generation has largely been by word of mouth. The learning process was mostly a matter of memorizing; content usually took the form of stories and parables. Learning was highly dramatized. In essence, the storyteller was an artist drawing elaborate images and pictures in the minds' eyes of his audience through the use of language. Learning served an entertainment purpose and consequently memorizing a story was far easier and undertaken eagerly. Memorization was not an exact word-by-word exercise but rather a creative act, stories being embellished with each learning and each retelling. If a story told of a certain animal, the listener imagined that animal in his own private way in accord with his own concept of animals; if it told of something ugly or beautiful, the listener adjusted the scene to conform with his own concept of ugliness or beauty. The ability to comprehend was strictly related to the limiting boundary of one's own life experience and vocabulary. For example, the storyteller would not say: "The Spanish came and killed ten of our brothers with their guns." Rather, "The white men carried long sticks which belched fire and smoke and killed our ten brothers with invisible arrows." It wasn't the most efficient way of transmitting knowledge, but it was understood. The imagery was vivid and dramatic. It left a deep impression on an illiterate's mind.

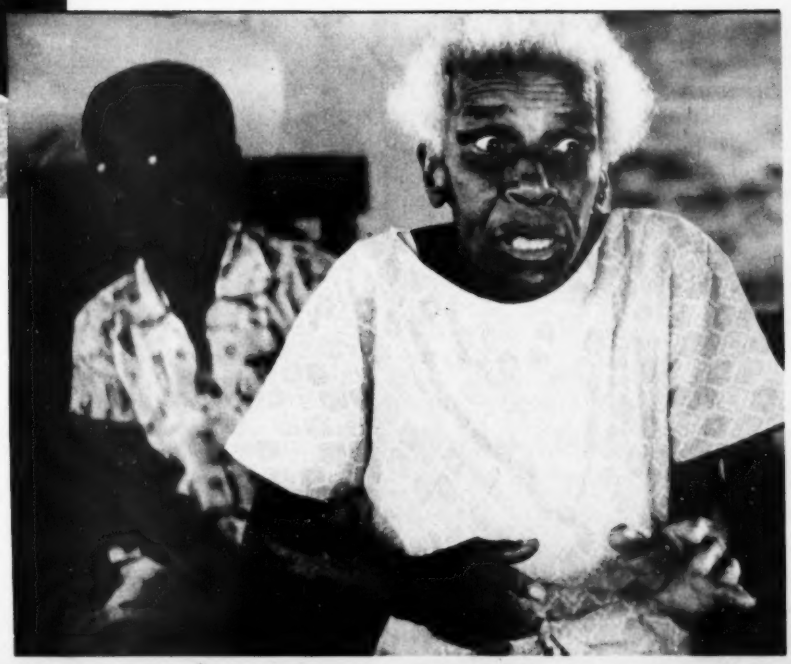
This kind of communication continues today among pre-school children before they learn to read in many rural areas where illiteracy is high and among many farmers who have managed to receive only two or three years of primary education. But the application of the verbal image-building process can be extended almost indefinitely into society at large. Pictures and imagery attract practically everybody.

Co-op Volunteers in northern Peru have been getting involved in coop-



"The storyteller was an artist drawing elaborate images and pictures in the mind's eye." Here is Grangran, a popular storyteller in Jamaica.

Photos by Paul Conklin



erative training programs for Peruvian farmers. At a very early stage in their activities it became obvious that successful communication was not taking place. It was decided that lectures were too long. Volunteers and counterparts agreed to limit lectures to 30 minutes and to place primary emphasis on small group discussion circles to maximize opportunities for the participation of the farmers. Simultaneously Volunteers began to use verbal imagery to explain basic principles or concepts about cooperatives. Some of these images are presented here to demonstrate their simplicity and their applicability to communication with *campesinos*. These images are by no means perfect. With more attention to imagery, new and better ones could easily be developed. What is needed is that more Volunteers become actively involved in creating imagery appropriate to other fields of Peace Corps activity.

The Bible offers an unlimited supply of stories and parables which can be adapted to concepts Volunteers wish to communicate. However, it is important that the Volunteer never assume he has chosen a Biblical story his listeners are certain to be familiar with.

Many Volunteers might feel they are "talking down" too much to their audience by using such simple stories and imagery. Although it is important to measure one's audience and to speak to the group and not to its most illiterate member, it is generally true that simple imagery often holds the attention of even well educated professionals. If only half or even a quarter of one's audience stand in need of very basic, simplified communication, there is little risk in speaking to its level.

But this brings to mind a fundamental question which has been frequently raised concerning Volunteer work with groups: should the Volunteer devote his time to the broad membership of the group or should he concentrate on group leaders or potential leaders? This question was discussed at length with co-op Volunteers in Peru and the general consensus was the latter alternative. With specific reference to co-op education it was felt that it was the Volunteer's job to train the leaders to educate the body of co-op members. In point of fact this task has proven extremely difficult, and co-ops with active education committees are very few indeed. Consequently, Volunteers have become increasingly involved in co-op education at the *socio,* membership level. At the same time it is becoming quite clear that co-op leaders are not by themselves able to "carry the co-op" indefinitely. They have to see results. They must see some compensation for their sacrifice; leadership cannot be sustained in a vacuum. Without strong interest and participation on the part of the general membership, well trained leaders can be wasted. It is in developing this membership involvement that verbal imagery becomes so important. Imagery aids the member's comprehension of what he is to participate in and, even though he may forget the concept expressed by an image, he may remember the image. If the image is simple and clear it will be understood at the moment it is used. Comprehension will occur, if only briefly, leaving an impression that allows him to respond more positively to the co-op.

In the last analysis, then, imagery is intended to generate a climate of positive feeling, of comprehension. If such a climate can be built, good leadership can sustain it and perhaps enhance it.

John Hatch recently completed a tour as an associate Peace Corps director in Peru, and is now doing graduate study in Latin American economic history at the University of Wisconsin. He was a Volunteer in Colombia from 1962 to 1964.

Fluency alone is ineffective—the Volunteer must dramatize his communication to insure comprehension of his message.

Here are some verbal images the author formulated for cooperatives:

Co-op illustrations

SAVINGS:

"A co-op is like a field of corn." When the corn receives rain, when it is irrigated, it grows strong and tall. The plants are green and healthy. But when there is no rain, no water, the corn dries up and dies. So it is with a co-op. The water the co-op needs are the savings of its members. When the members don't save, when they don't give water to their co-op, it dries up like a field of corn and dies.

SHARES AND INTEREST ON CAPITAL:

"Saving in a co-op is like building a house." If a man decides to build a house he must first make a large number of adobes. If he is lazy and makes only one or two adobes he can't build anything. What can he make with ten adobes? Nothing! But if he continues to build adobes, day after day, month after month, someday he will have enough to build a fine house. The same is true of a co-op. A co-op can't be built from one day to the next. If each member only contributes one adobe to the co-op house it will never be built. Each share in the co-op is like an adobe. But if every member, once a month, buys a share, contributes an adobe, there will someday be enough to build a large, beautiful, comfortable co-op house. For each adobe, each share contributed by a member, the co-op will pay once a year a certain amount of money agreed upon by all the members. The member who has contributed only one adobe, one share, will receive very little. But the member who works to build 10, 20, or 30 adobes will receive 10, 20, or 30 times more money. Year after year each adobe, each share, will earn money for the man who made it.

CO-OP OWNERSHIP:

"The story of (five) brothers." A few years ago in the sierra of (Cajamarca) an old man who had no children decided to sell his 15 hectares of land and move to Lima. A neighbor heard about the sale and wanted to buy the land but he didn't have enough money and the old man wanted cash. So the neighbor quickly called his (four) brothers together and proposed this plan: "Not a one of us has the money to buy the land by himself. But if all five of us put our money together we will have enough to buy the old man's land. Then, instead of dividing the 15 hectares in five portions—because some parts are better than others and it would be difficult to divide fairly—we can plant the land as if it were one big farm. This way we will earn more money, and after the harvest we will divide the earnings fairly. Each one of us will be owner of the same farm." The other brothers quickly agreed to this plan. Together they bought the land, earned lots of money, and lived happily ever after. (The story can be embellished endlessly at the discretion of the storyteller). A co-op is like the farm of the five brothers. Each member is an owner of the co-op, and its profits must be distributed to all of the members who have put money into the co-op and participated in it.

CO-OP LOYALTY:

"Many a co-op is like a beautiful woman." When she is young and lovely everyone falls in love with her. But after a while, one by one, her admirers get tired and lose interest. A strong co-op requires a different kind of love. A strong co-op is like a mother, and the loyalty of her members is like the loyalty of sons to their mother.

CO-OP STRUCTURE:

"A co-op is like a tree." The sturdy trunk, the strength of the tree, are the co-op members. The more members the co-op has, the stronger and taller it is. A young co-op is like a young tree. Its trunk is slender and its roots are shallow. But as it grows its roots sink deeper and its body grows larger and stronger. The Administration Committee is the first sturdy branch of the co-op tree. The second branch is the Education Committee—they are like the ants that live on the tree. They are busy and curious and never stop working. They run up and down the trunk of the co-op tree, and back and forth between its branches carrying messages and investigating and checking to make sure that the co-op tree is strong and healthy.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

"The General Assembly is like a large family reunion." "The General Assembly is the end of the old year and the beginning of the new year for the co-op." It is the day that all the members gather to measure how far the co-op tree has grown, the big day on which the members count the numbers of adobes and decide how much will be paid to each member for each adobe. The general assembly is the day the entire co-op family gathers to celebrate the end of the co-op harvest and to make plans for the new planting season. To forget the co-op general assembly is like the son who forgets his mother's birthday.

CO-OP STATUTES:

"The co-op statutes are the language of the co-op." All the members must learn and speak the same language. The co-op which doesn't have a language in common will fail. Once upon a time, says the Bible, there were men who decided they were as powerful as God. To prove it they decided to build a tower which would reach to heaven. They began to work, and after they had built several floors God decided to punish them for their sin of pride. One day he caused each one of the workers to start speaking a different language. Suddenly nobody could understand anyone else, and in a short while the workers began to fight among themselves. The work on the tower stopped forever. So it is with the co-op whose members don't learn to speak the same language of the statutes.

EDUCATION:

"A co-op which does not have an education committee is like a blind man." "The education committee is like the schoolteacher." There are some schoolteachers who are lazy and never give classes to the children. But there are other schoolteachers who realize that the youth of today will be the leaders of tomorrow and so these good teachers sacrifice all their time to teach the children well, to teach them to be responsible and hard working. The co-op also, like the good teacher, needs to constantly teach its members.

IN POLITICS:

"The co-op house which opens its door to politics is like the man who tries to live with two wives under the same roof." "A co-op where politics thrives is like a tree with two trunks." "A politician inside a co-op is as dangerous as a wolf among a corral of chickens."

Big sis or pl

"Today's plain Janes have opportunities their spinster aunts never did—trips to Europe, a Peace Corps assignment in Asia, interesting jobs in research or government."

—TIME Magazine

She came on like an Israeli tank. "Don't tip the taxi driver," she ordered. "Here is the place. Stop, driver. Come on!"

What to do? I ran to catch her. The whole evening was a *blitzkrieg*. Fun and games Peace Corps style.

"Let's dance," she said, grabbing my arm. That wasn't too bad except she did the "leading," and I the following. Dinner resembled an air raid. Before I could wave my hand to summon a waiter, she ordered two sirloin steaks in the local language. Of course, she spoke it better than I.

"You have to be firm with these people," she explained. "They just don't understand English."

Later, I took her home. Or did she take me? She yelled for a taxi, told a rickshaw driver to "get lost," opened the taxi door for *me*, and told the driver where to go.

End of date with a female Volunteer.

Exaggerated, unfair story? "All female Volunteers aren't like that! Blah. Blah. You're not so hot yourself, buster." (Of course, the women are going to protest.)

But what is the female Volunteer really like? Is it true that she is "hard, overbearing, aggressive, independent and unwomanly," as one male put it?

Quite a few male Volunteers seem to think so. Says J. K.: "Man, they just don't have it. They don't swing. Don't know how to have fun. Real deadheads, believe me."

She isn't that bad, is she?

"She's not feminine enough," wails H.T. "She doesn't seem to care about her clothes. Turns me off."

or plain Jane?

The complaints go on and on. Things like, "unladylike, too bold, too competing, too demanding, too—everything."

"Let me tell you," said A.B. "They have lost their womanhood. It's true. I dated a real American girl (not a Volunteer) recently.

"It was great to be around her," he added. "I don't know what made her different from our girls (Volunteers), but it was something. I miss it."

And what does the female Volunteer think about this? Naturally, she dismisses most of the complaints as "pure rubbish coming from frustrated, nasty old men."

"What do they (the men) want?" demanded K.U. "Do they expect us to look prissy and neat all the time? What vanity and nonsense!"

"We don't see a man sometimes for weeks," said C.C., an English teacher in a small village. "I resent the statement that we don't look attractive enough. Do they expect us to go to the beauty parlor every day?"

Could be.

To look their best, the girls are at a definite disadvantage. Most are not near big cities and all the beautifying equipment. No hairdressers. No cosmetics. No new clothes. No miniskirts. She has no one to dress up for.

"I teach kitchen gardens in a school," lamented P.G., a pretty thing from Chicago. "I have to get my hands dirty. I can't wear sexy clothes to a garden, can I? We have jobs to do. But if I want to, I can be just as attractive as anyone you ever saw."

True, the girls have to live a different kind of life in the Peace Corps. As one said, "we order our own meals, flag our own taxis, carry our own bags, and perform all the other little details normally handled by males."

She has to do these "unwomanly" things. She is forced to make decisions and accept responsibilities (and usually likes it). The label of "lost femininity" is a fighting adjective. She doesn't believe she has lost anything.

Upon returning to the United States, she "will be as feminine as anyone." The guys should try to understand the problems a girl goes through, the girls say.

She misses parties, good times and nice clothes like those enjoyed by any swinging coed in the States, more so because such good, fun times don't come often or easy.

"To be honest," said one, "the thing I miss most here is dating. There just aren't enough men. Most of them are stuck in remote villages. We seldom see them except at conferences or vacations."

Well, maybe she is right, but nearly 800 marriages among Volunteers have taken place overseas. They do get together, if they want to.

The big gripe from the women is that the men "treat us as one of the guys." Sort of the Big Sister thing.

"Why should I act meek and helpless?" asked S.T. "It's part their fault, too. If they treated us like women, we would act like women. So there!"

"Let the men talk all they want about us," she added. "I don't care. The men aren't so cool themselves. They could use some cleaning up, too."

In fact, the women have similar complaints about the guys. They don't "dress up, or try to be neat," as one female Volunteer said. Of course, the guys retaliate with "you don't fix up for us."

When the hot air is finally cleared, the truth is that the women and men are glad to see each other.

"She is kind of nice to have around," said G.R., who runs a poultry farm. "I think American girls are the greatest, really. They have something foreign women don't. A self-confidence or something. They are really cool."

He also disagrees with the *TIME* observation that only plain Janes join the Peace Corps. Peace Corps doesn't have a monopoly on plain Janes.

The author reports that "the names in this article have been changed to protect the guilty." Larry Hayes has been in a health education program in Madras State for the past year.

By LARRY HAYES
Madras, India

A call for more technical projects in the Peace Corps, with suggestions for programming, recruiting, selecting, training, supporting and accepting

The blue-collar Volunteer

Is the blue-collar Volunteer worth the trouble? Is he effective enough overseas within the context of the Peace Corps to justify both the expense of the special effort necessary to recruit him and the high degree of support he requires when he gets to his country of assignment?

Is the type of project in which he is needed appropriate for the Peace Corps?

Is there an acceptable alternative to the blue-collar worker for such programs?

All these questions must be answered in the affirmative except the last, where either a "Yes, but" or "No, but" answer would be appropriate. I will state the rationale for my answers to these questions, fully cognizant of the risk of having my reasons attacked.

I feel there is a distressing pattern discernible during the past year in the relationship between the Peace Corps and the host countries in which it serves. Although the Peace Corps has maintained its non-political purity, it has become the instrument for the communication of host country dissatisfaction with American foreign policy. Why? Because the Peace Corps Volunteers are considered dispensable by many host country governments.

Why should the finest, most highly motivated group of Americans ever sent overseas be considered dispensable? There are two reasons. The first is the lack of information and the indifference of many host country government officials to what the Peace Corps Volunteers are actually doing. Secondly, the Peace Corps Volunteers do not have the requisite skills. In countries where the Peace Corps has been expelled, seriously criticized, or greatly reduced, the reason usually given was that the Peace Corps Volunteers were not skilled enough to participate in the country's development.

In the severely underdeveloped countries where the Peace Corps has concentrated on teaching the liberal arts at the secondary level, it encourages the continuing distortion of priorities by the host country. *Newsweek* recently quoted Rene Dumont, of the French National Institute of Agriculture, to the effect that young people

Photo by Paul Conklin

Training mechanics for Guinea. "A skilled Volunteer needs the assurance of a well structured job and the confidence he gains from training designed according to the requirements of that job."

in Africa go to school in order to avoid manual labor. This is unfortunately true to a tragic degree. Africa is a frontier area without a pioneer spirit. Those with the capacities essential to the taming of the frontier seek to escape from it to the cities. Among the worst legacies of colonialism is the desire to copy its practitioners. The Peace Corps should provide a better example to emulate. That example should be university degree holders, as well as industrial technicians, working and teaching the manual arts and not the liberal arts.

The Peace Corps traditional "contempt" for other Americans overseas has been tempered by its own maturity and self-confidence. However, it remains excessively sensitive to the maintenance of a self-imposed purity in programming. I see no reason why technical training and development projects should be the sole province of the Agency for International Development when so many of them are within the unique competence of the Peace Corps. I hasten to add that I am not advocating that the Peace Corps supplant AID. I just feel that the Peace Corps should not shy away from a major economic development role in the underdeveloped countries.

The obvious conclusion is that the Peace Corps should and, indeed, must increasingly concern itself with the need for technically skilled personnel in the developing countries.

By HENRY NORMAN

The blue-collar worker is worth the trouble because he is so desperately needed. Host countries are becoming increasingly aware of the mistake they made in devoting such a large share of scarce resources to European style education which is irrelevant to their real needs. However, a switch of emphasis to technical studies is more easily declared than implemented. In addition to the practical difficulties of lack of equipment, tools and teachers, there is the psychological problem of attitude: manual work has to be made "respectable" and pride in workmanship must be developed. The Peace Corps Volunteer brings the attitude and motivation to his work which can accomplish this.

A.B. stereotype

Much of the "trouble" caused by the blue-collar Peace Corps Volunteer is due to the nature of the Peace Corps and the attitudes of its personnel both in Washington and overseas. The Peace Corps has been so dependent for so long on the A.B. generalist that it has unwittingly molded itself from recruitment to termination in the image of the young liberal arts college graduate. I submit that there are a great many people who do not fit into that mold who would make excellent Peace Corps Volunteers. They are not reached because serious recruiting is largely confined to the college campus or aimed at the A.B. generalist. If they apply, they are screened out by selection as not being Peace Corps "types." If they do succeed in getting overseas they have a high attrition rate (both voluntary and involuntary) because overseas staff insist they fit into the A.B. generalist mold.

A serious effort by the Peace Corps to attract more blue-collar workers would require the following steps:

- A sustained educational campaign aimed at blue-collar workers with the

staff and determination necessary for success. During a recent blue-collar recruiting effort, conducted by the United Auto Workers under contract with the Peace Corps, the comment most frequently heard was, "I thought you had to be a college graduate to join the Peace Corps."

- Realistic selection criteria which do not impose irrelevant requirements to which skilled workers must conform. High school dropouts are rarely accepted despite excellent technical skills.
- An acceptance of the necessity to train wives in usable skills. The Peace Corps is willing to train A.B. generalists in a usable skill, but is extremely reluctant to do the same for non-college people. This effectively eliminates the vast majority of blue-collar workers.
- An efficient and candid method of rejection of unqualified applicants. In my recent recruiting travels, I frequently heard the complaint that an application had been submitted and after the initial acknowledgement nothing more was heard or that the applicant kept getting the runaround. Stories like this discourage other prospective applicants.

The Peace Corps must accept the fact that the recruitment of skilled blue-collar people will always be more difficult and expensive than going after the A.B. generalist. Blue-collar workers are under no pressure to make up their minds in a hurry about joining the Peace Corps. Unlike the college senior, they are established in good paying jobs, they have roots in the community, and generally they have already completed their military service. Breaking away and going off to the Peace Corps for two years is a much more complicated and difficult decision for them than it is for the single, unencumbered young college senior who usually has neither roots nor responsibilities and feels he must make his decisions immediately or they will be made for him.

Seeing differences

Academically oriented overseas staff must be made aware of the fact that a blue-collar worker is a different breed of Peace Corps Volunteer and has strengths and weaknesses different from those of the A.B. generalist. The industrial technician requires more support than the college-trained Peace Corps Volunteer. He is usually not as flexible and outgoing and tends to be less aggressive in establishing personal relationships with host country nationals. The more structured his work situation is, the more likely will be his success as a Volunteer. He seems less adaptable to the radical changes in living habits overseas and has little patience with contrived "hardships" imposed in the name of "image." He is more work oriented than the A.B. generalist and less inclined to put much emphasis on points two and three of the Peace Corps Act. Also, his language proficiency is usually low.

This would seem to give validity to the widely held belief that blue-collar workers cannot really "hack it" overseas. However, my own experience in Guinea disproves that canard. Industrial workers have strengths that offset their weaknesses and even the latter can be reduced or mitigated by a good training program and sympathetic administration overseas.

The Guinea mechanics program was easily the most successful of the six groups we had during my tenure as country director. We had two agriculture and three teacher projects. One of the latter was a senior-year program. Though they had infinitely greater problems than their predecessors the mechanics had the lowest attrition rate of all. When we were expelled from Guinea the Volunteers with time left to serve were given the choice of termination without prejudice or going to another country. Of 12 teachers who were part of the senior-year program, 6 chose to terminate. Of 18 mechanics, only 2 decided to go home and both of them did so only after the country to which they had been assigned cancelled its request. I do not state these figures to denigrate the A.B. generalist, but only to demonstrate the dedication and stamina of the blue-collar workers and the desirability of the type of project in which they were involved. Incidentally, Guinea has now expressed a desire for trained American technicians and their top priority program is a group of mechanics.

Although the industrial worker requires more direct leadership than the A.B. generalist to bring out his positive qualities, he is generally more disciplined and responsible. Let me here point to those who have a knee-jerk reaction to these words that I am speaking in comparative terms and that I am not dismissing the A.B. generalist as either "underdisciplined" or "irresponsible." I am also referring specifically to work-discipline which is frequently missing in the college graduate who has never held a real job.

It is generally more important to a blue-collar worker to be a successful Peace Corps Volunteer than it is to the A.B. generalist. To the former, being a Peace Corps Volunteer is a more important event in his life. The overseas staff must provide guidance to all Volunteers as to what constitutes a successful term of service, but it must provide more support to the technical Volunteer in accomplishing that success. This requires time, effort, sympathy, understanding, and, above all, effective communication.

Needs are personal

Staff support for the blue-collar Volunteer is less a matter of technical backstopping than it is one of personal support. Technical staff is important for proper programming, supply and supervision, but frequently the technical staffer has the same weaknesses as the technical Volunteer and is unable to provide what the latter really needs. These needs are more personal than professional.

Many of the problems encountered overseas can be mitigated by training programs designed specifically for the blue-collar Peace Corps Volunteer. These programs should frankly recognize the blue-collar trainee's general weaknesses and define them to him so that he can make a conscious effort to overcome them, both in training and when he gets overseas.

First of all, training should never take place in an academic atmosphere, but always in a trade school. The blue-collar recruit comes into the Peace Corps with some misgivings about "competing" with college kids. Throwing him into a college setting knocks him off balance from the start of his Peace Corps career. In addition, colleges rarely have the capacity to train Peace Corps Volunteers effectively in the technical skills.

Secondly, there should be an emphasis on "sensitivity" training with a heavier than usual participation of host country nationals. The blue-collar trainee can operate more comfortably as a Volunteer overseas if he has been able to develop a warm interpersonal relationship with a host country national in training. The thousand and one nervous questions about day-to-day living will have been

answered and the trainee made more "open" to another culture.

The third important point is the existence of a well defined job so that the trainee can feel that he is receiving training tailored specifically for that job. However skilled a trainee may be, he is always concerned about variations in equipment and his capacity to handle unfamiliar activities such as teaching. A skilled Volunteer needs the assurance of a well structured job and the confidence he gains from training designed according to the requirements of that job. If he is to be a teacher, he is in the same position as an A.B. generalist English teacher who knows the language but requires intensive training in the skill of teaching. A blue-collar Volunteer who will teach his skill should be trained as a teacher and this should include practice-teaching. I feel very strongly that all skill instruction overseas should have two components. There must be classroom teaching and shop instruction. In this way, the discipline of the classroom is maintained, but production is not sacrificed. Where lecturing requires fluency in a foreign language not possessed by the blue-collar Volunteer, he should handle the practical instruction in the shop with a technically trained and fluent A.B. generalist doing the lecturing. Combinations such as this have great advantages in terms of support by the two Volunteers of each other.

Another crucial element is language. The blue-collar Volunteer seems much weaker in this field than is actually the case. For example, the Guinea mechanics seemed hopeless in training, but made remarkable progress during their tour of service. To the industrial technician, the learning process is related predominantly to practical experience rather than formal instruction. Training should concentrate heavily on technical vocabulary so that the trainees understand and accept its relevance to their function overseas. Once in-country, language instruction should be continued, but the real progress will be made in situations where the Volunteer is forced to communicate in the host country tongue.

All of the foregoing becomes moot if the type of project for which the blue-collar Peace Corps Volunteer is needed is considered inappropriate for the Peace Corps. There is a widely held feeling that the Peace Corps should limit itself to projects calling for "gifted amateurs." Those programs requiring highly skilled technicians should be left to AID.

Phillipp Gibson (right), an experienced mechanic, assists Robert Steward in practical work during Peace Corps training. Both are Volunteers in Africa.

Meeting the need

I am not talking about transforming the entire Peace Corps into a blue-collar operation. There are not that many industrial technicians available even if such a radical change was considered desirable. Under the best of circumstances, a few hundred and a maximum of 500 to 1,000 could be recruited annually. My point is that a serious effort should be made to get as many as possible into the Peace Corps to help meet the acute need for them overseas.

The second thing I am not talking about is the artificial dichotomy that has been created between points two and three of the Peace Corps Act on the one hand and point one on the other. All three points are essential to success and to weight any one of them defeats the purpose of all three. The Peace Corps, heavily dependent on the A.B. generalist, has made a virtue of necessity and emphasized points two and three. Most host governments, on the other hand, are at best indifferent to points two and three and at worst are suspicious of their implementation. Most governments invite the Peace Corps to get what point one promises.

Nor am I hung up on the necessity for extensive material support such programs require. In Guinea, a dynamic and enlightened AID director, Curt Campaigne, saw clearly the advantage of cooperation with our mechanics program and provided over $100,000 of equipment. AID was importing millions of dollars worth of badly needed heavy equipment and trucks into Guinea which could not be effectively maintained or repaired. Guinean roads were littered with

broken down machinery. Within three months of their arrival, the mechanics rehabilitated equipment worth several times the initial investment made by AID. More important than that, they established a school for mechanics to insure a supply of well trained people to continue the proper care of all equipment. Once they had proved themselves the Guinean government itself put a high priority on supplying them with whatever technical needs they had.

The "revolution of rising expectations" means simply that people around the world want a "piece of the action." They appreciate our willingness to sacrifice the material benefits of life in America to go to their countries and live and work among them. What they want, however, are the material benefits we left behind. They want our skills so they can achieve those benefits. They have already been through the missionary stage and have little interest in replacing the religious missionaries with temporal ones.

No organization in the world is so ideally suited to answer the need for skill training in the third world while avoiding the political and cultural antagonisms frequently encountered in aid efforts. The Peace Corps should not shrink from the possibility of becoming a major participant in the economic development of host countries, but should welcome that opportunity.

There are some in the Peace Corps who love to throw around ringing phrases about "revolution." I think that a little less rhetoric and a little more realism would be a more responsible approach. Peace Corps Volunteers are "agents of change," but the host country itself must be the final arbiter of what it wants to change. Neither we nor they are interested in the "Americanization" of their countries. We must provide skills and attitudes which make change possible and can be used as tools for change, but it is not for us to dictate how these tools will be used or what changes will be wrought.

The last question to be considered is what, if any, alternatives are there to the blue-collar Peace Corps Volunteer?

This month a group of 24 Peace Corps Volunteers departed for Africa to serve in the Gambia, Togo and Niger. They are highly skilled in cement construction, carpentry and furniture making, and mechanics. What is so unusual about it? The great majority of them were A.B. generalists who were trained as technicians. They were trained under a contract with the United Auto Workers union. It was an experimental program and I feel the experiment was a great success.

The eleven mechanics included eight trainees with at least some college or a degree and only three with none. Few of the eight had any prior mechanical experience. They received an unprecedented 425 hours of skill training. It will require a few months in the field before an objective analysis of the program can be made, but I am confident of the outcome.

The training of A.B. generalists to become technicians has great significance for the future. However, it should be considered not as an alternative to the blue-collar effort, but as a supplement. We gave the equivalent of a nine-month course in mechanics in three months. The people in this program will be able to work in their skills the moment they step off the airplane. There will be no period of apprenticeship to the counterparts to whom the Volunteers are supposed to teach a skill. Despite this, it should also be realized that experience sharpens technical skills and increases confidence. A sprinkling of experienced technicians in each program to give backstopping to the A.B. generalist is highly desirable.

I consider the Peace Corps to be the most significant idea of the twentieth century. In a cynical world in which the vast majority lives in poverty and ignorance, but distrusts even the meager efforts of the affluent minority to help, the Peace Corps has been remarkably successful in winning the confidence of those with whom it works. The character of the commitment required, the quality of the Peace Corps Volunteer and an ideal implemented with imagination and enthusiasm have not only made the Peace Corps a unique organization, but have also created a unique opportunity for it to become a major factor in the economic development of host countries.

I believe that the Peace Corps should be more responsive to the developmental needs of host countries. It must devote more of its attention and resources to meet those needs. It must never sacrifice the quality of the Volunteer to do this, but it must recognize that the quality required is not limited to a single social-economic-education level of our population. If points two and three of the Act are to be honestly implemented, then Peace Corps personnel should include a cross-section of Americans.

I feel strongly that with effective training, industrial workers can be successful Peace Corps Volunteers. I feel just as strongly that A.B. generalists can be made into successful technicians. I am convinced that both are necessary and that together they can have a substantial and positive impact on the development of the countries of the third world.

Pause in language class of blue-collar trainees preparing for service in the Gambia, Togo and Niger. Standing from left to right: Victor Reuther of United Auto Workers union, which was training contractor; author Henry Norman; and Ken Wylie, Gambia project director.

Henry Norman established the Peace Corps program in Guinea in 1963 and served there as director until the Peace Corps was expelled in November 1966. He is currently consultant and legal counsel for the United Auto Workers' STEP (Social, Technical, and Educational Programs), the union's foreign aid project. He was previously a lawyer in Syracuse, N.Y.

Some facts and figures

What is a blue-collar worker? According to one dictionary, "blue-collar" means "belonging or relating to a broad class of wage earners whose duties call for the wearing of work clothes or protective clothing (warehousemen, longshoremen, farmers, miners, mechanics, construction workers. . . .)"

Wearing apparel, however, is not an effective means of identifying blue-collar workers in the Peace Corps. One criterion, a reading of skill categories of Volunteers in the field (as of September 30), shows that less than three per cent of all Volunteers overseas are classified as doing blue-collar work; but a number of these are college graduates who were turned into blue-collar workers during Peace Corps training.

Another yardstick, level of education, shows that the number of Volunteers who hold only high school degrees is slightly below three per cent; those who have training other than college number .2 per cent; 15 per cent have attended college for from one to five years but do not have degrees.

There are Volunteers without degrees scattered throughout almost every Peace Corps program. However, relatively few programs calling exclusively for blue-collar persons have been mounted, and most of these have ended up with both degree and non-degree people. Further, the Peace Corps allots comparatively few industrial/technical programs each year, and this category includes programs for graduate technicians—engineers, architects, agricultural specialists—as well as blue-collar workers.

The number of non-graduates in the Peace Corps has historically wavered between 15 and 20 per cent, with the exception of 1962—when almost one-third of the Volunteers overseas did not have degrees—and 1963, when one-fourth of them did not. Correspondingly, the "biggest" year for those who went only through high school and/or a period of technical training was 1962, when they made up 6 per cent of the Peace Corps. In 1963 that percentage went down to 4.6, and it has bobbed around the 3 per cent mark every year since then. (All statistics presented hereafter refer only to non-graduates. It is assumed that blue-collar workers are generally drawn from non-graduate ranks.)

The Peace Corps has traditionally made an effort to recruit blue-collar workers, although that effort was greater in the early days of the agency, and probably reached its peak during the fall of 1964 and the spring of 1965.

Labor, management act

Many of the major labor unions have endorsed the Peace Corps; some have negotiated with management to obtain contract clauses guaranteeing seniority and re-employment rights to any union members who volunteer for Peace Corps service. In addition, about 150 companies have established a formal leave of absence policy that guarantees re-employment rights.

In recent years recruiting, along with programming and Selection, has emphasized the college graduate. Today the agency depends mostly on public service advertisements and information mailings to bring in blue-collar applications. Within the skill spectrum of non-graduates, persons with an agricultural background are getting the most attention. In addition to community advertisements and mailings to county agricultural extension agents, high school seniors are currently being recruited for a new five-year degree program starting at Wilmington College in Ohio next fall. The program combines three years of college, including language and agriculture studies, with two years of Peace Corps service.

A study of Peace Corps applications done by the Office of Selection for the Bureau of the Budget shows that fewer non-degree people are applying to the Peace Corps these days. In program year 1967 (Sept. 1, 1966 to Aug. 31, 1967) about 38 per cent of all Peace Corps applicants were not degree holders. The previous program year, 1966, 42 per cent of the applicants were other than college graduates; in program year 1965, it was 49 per cent.

Why don't more blue-collar workers and non-graduates apply to the Peace Corps? Why don't more get invited to training and go on to become Volunteers?

The reasons are complex. Some of those most frequently given for blue-collar workers—in recent discussions at the Peace Corps Forum and at staff training sessions in Washington, in reports on blue-collar workers who terminated early, and in evaluations of blue-collar training programs—are:

- Blue-collar workers cost more—to recruit, to train, and to support in the field.

Recruiting blue-collar workers takes more time and effort than recruiting A.B. generalists. Industrial workers are usually settled in well paying jobs; they have wives and often young children. Their wives frequently do not have skills the Peace Corps can use, making overseas placement difficult.

Peace Corps experience with program year 1967 applicants has shown that it takes an average of 10 applications from non-graduates to dispatch one invitation to training; it takes 18½ applications to reap one non-graduate acceptance of a training invitation. These statistical data vary according to skill: of non-graduates with an agricultural background, for example, it takes 23 applications to produce one invitation and almost 30 to reap one acceptance; of non-graduates with technical skills, 11½ applications are needed to produce one invitation, almost 20 to produce one acceptance.

In contrast, one A.B. generalist of every 1½ who apply is invited to training; one out of three accept invitations.

In program year 1967, 57 per cent of all Peace Corps applicants considered were not invited to training. Of this percentage, 33 per cent were rejected by Selection; 41 per cent were "futured" or put on record for reconsideration at a later date (the rest either withdrew their applications or were still in processing at the end of the program year).

From this vantage, two mostly non-graduate skill categories show the following breakdown: Of all applicants in the "agricultural background" category (about 92 per cent non-graduates), 43 per cent were rejected by Selection and 43 per cent were "futured." Of those "futured," 68 per cent were thought to need two years more maturity; 30 per cent were thought to need more work experience. Of those rejected, half were classified as "skill rejects" (considered "not to possess the skill he purports to have significantly enough to be useful"), a quarter were "personality rejects" ("individuals whose references and background material suggest that they will not be suitable for Peace Corps placement"), nine per cent were "programming rejects" ("individuals who because of a combination of personality and skill characteristics do not fit the programs" which are on tap for the year).

Selection notes that more than half of the "agricultural background" applicants not invited to training were under the age of 20, and therefore were not likely to be considered for any Peace Corps program. Most of these were "futured" or rejected because of insufficient skill.

Of all applicants in the "technical skills" category (97 per cent non-graduates), 57 per cent were rejected; 14 per cent "futured." Of those futured, two-thirds were thought to need more work experience; a third were thought to need two years more maturity. Of those rejected, a third were "skill rejects"; 29 per cent were "personality rejects"; and 26 per cent were "programming rejects."

In the area of training, some Peace Corps staff members point out that blue-collar workers require more study in language and in cultural sensitivity than A.B. generalists. Though less skill training is required, and though blue-collar skills are thought to be demonstrable, it is generally felt that blue-collar workers must receive teacher-training—they must be taught how to teach their skill to others.

On dependencies

Overseas, the blue-collar worker has seemed to be more dependent than the A.B. generalist on a structured and well-defined job, personal support from the Peace Corps staff. Staff complaints are that the blue-collar worker does not have the motivation and the ability to adjust to the culture that the generalist has.

Ashabranner sworn in as Deputy Director

Following are excerpts from a speech given by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey at the swearing-in of Brent Ashabranner as Deputy Director of the Peace Corps at the State Department on October 4:

"We hear a lot nowadays about people having a 'thing' to do. Doing their 'thing' is very personal to them . . . very compelling. I know that is 'hip' lingo—but I can understand it, it comes through despite the beards. . . . I believe the American people have a 'thing.' And the Peace Corps Volunteers are doing it. Our 'thing' is helping our fellow men 'in the huts and villages of half the globe,' as John Kennedy pledged us, 'not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right.'"

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"I suggest that one of the great needs in this country is for people who have ideas to talk about them. It is not good enough to just meditate about them. You need to talk out loud. There is a great deal of discussion these days about the need of a dialogue by people who do not want a dialogue. We must talk to one another—not in a sense of self-righteousness, knowing that we have the truth, but rather in a sense of humility, searching for the truth."

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"There is a growing attitude among certain people in this country, and in certain circles, that we again ought to remove ourselves from the world—they are not quite ready to say stop the world, I want to get off, because somebody is apt to ask them to be a recruit for the lunar flight, and they do not want to do that, either. But there are a number of people today who say, 'Well, do we have to take on the burdens of this world?' That is why they cut foreign aid, that is why there is a feeling that the programs of foreign aid ought to be cut back, and that they have not been working. It is not that they have not been working. It is just that some people do not want to carry that much of a load because they would prefer to live it up.

"I think it is fair to say that America could literally withdraw from any responsibility in the world today and have a ten-year lost weekend—literally live it up, as we say, just having the time of our lives. And at the end of that decade, find out whether there was anything left here or abroad that you could call freedom or social justice."

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"What is really going on is that some people just do not want to be bothered with the problems of other people. They prefer to take it easy. Those who are really interested in peace, and who really are the peacemakers, not the peace-talkers, or the peace-walkers—the peacemakers are the ones who take time to help people live a good life. The peacemakers are the Peace Corps Volunteers. They

• The Peace Corps has grown dependent on the generalist. In its congressional presentation for 1968, the agency says: "At the heart of our strategy remains the element around which all Peace Corps planning has revolved since the outset: The American college graduate. He has proved himself a remarkable, versatile instrument. . . . We will stand behind the young graduate—not merely because he is our prime resource, but because his optimism, persistence, imagination and enthusiasm already have paid off in concrete results, touching just the sources from which lasting human development derives."

In this context, one senior staff member recently expressed the feelings of many in the Peace Corps: The general thought has always been that it is easier . . . to give the A.B. generalist a skill than to give sensitivity and the capacity for cultural understanding to the blue-collar worker.

• The vast majority of program requests from the field ask for graduates. For the first two segments of program year 1968 (fall 1967 and spring 1968) about 95 per cent of the requests were for individuals with degrees. Why?

Education projects continue to engage one half of all Volunteers. Due to past experience with graduates and to the requirements of host country educational systems, these programs seem to call automatically for graduates. In addition, there are other programs—in the areas of health and public administration, for example—that ostensibly call for graduates.

The proved flexibility of the A.B. generalist plays a large part in field programming decisions. Some feel it is less risky to ask for a generalist (the he-can-be-taught-to-do-anything syndrome) than to ask for a person who didn't go to—or didn't finish—college.

A theory held by other staff members as to why the field doesn't request more non-graduates was referred to recently by one staff member as the "vicious circle." According to this theory, the field believes—mistakenly so—that blue-collar workers and non-graduates cannot be recruited or attracted to the Peace Corps in numbers large enough to warrant more programs calling for them. Because non-graduates are not requested, they are not recruited, or selected—and the circle completes itself—the word gets back to the field that the Peace Corps can't get non-graduates.

are the Community Action group. They are the people who have the courage to go into the ghetto of the urban slum and help people find a new life. And they are the people who have the courage to go to faraway places with a foreign aid program or a Peace Corps program, or a program of some voluntary agency, and help in the process of nation building."

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"The real test of leadership is the capacity to persuade and convince others to do for themselves what they ought to do for themselves. And then finally, if they are unable to do it alone for themselves, you help them. I think that is what the Peace Corps does. It seems to teach people to do for themselves what they really want to do for themselves, and what they know they ought to do for themselves."

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"I am not interested in a small Peace Corps, nor is President Johnson interested in a small Peace Corps. I want to see the Peace Corps grow right up to the point where further size could yield little more lasting value."

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"Volunteers returning from overseas are asking hard, penetrating questions when they come back home. This is both your greatest strength and, may I say, can cause you some of the greatest difficulty. Some people do not like to have people ask questions back home.

"They have been polite guests overseas for two years. At home, the Peace Corps Volunteer returning does not hesitate to speak out and to challenge old orthodoxies. But I must say to those returnees, through this medium, and through this means—do not expect people to put their loving arms around you and say, 'Now that you sacrificed for us for two years, what can I offer you?' It will still be a scramble. And you will have to prove yourself back home just exactly as you proved yourself abroad. In fact, it may be a little tougher back here."

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey administers oath of office to Brent Ashabranner, the new deputy director of the Peace Corps.

The scene is new, the action familiar

Some classic challenges of Peace Corps teaching emerge stateside

By ROBERT BLACKBURN

I'm the Peace Corps representative for an education project of about 175 teachers, concentrated in a capital city in a classically underdeveloped area. We have the full range of problems. First, the Ministry said it wanted all the Peace Corps Volunteer teachers we could muster. We were told that they believed in the special qualities of Peace Corps Volunteers, that they were convinced by experience in other developing areas throughout the world that we had a unique contribution to make, particularly in introducing new techniques and attitudes, and helping them cut away from their traditional, colonially influenced past.

Experience soon proved that at least some host officials looked upon us more as a cheap and ready manpower supply than as a unique cutting edge of innovation. Other officials (after the ink on the program description had long since dried, of course) wondered privately if Volunteers would take the tough site assignments that needed to be filled, assignments which host country teachers typically fled just as soon as something better developed.

Only half the Volunteers arrived in time for the one-month in-country orientation which the Ministry had somewhat hastily arranged for all new teachers. Volunteer reactions to the orientation were mixed, although most found it useful as a general settling-in experience for obtaining housing, figuring out the currency, practicing the language, shopping and so on.

When classes finally began, there was some disarray. Many secondary-trained teachers faced elementary classes for the first time. Others confronted intermediate school classes larger and more unruly than anything in their previous teaching experience. Worst of all, the shortage of elementary teachers which the Ministry had been bemoaning all through the early negotiations now seemed to have vanished. Some Peace Corps Volunteers were "over-assigned," and had to float around doing make-work in their schools until the Ministry could locate —through its faulty communications system—real teaching slots.

Expectation vs. reality

In addition to these disruptions, the onset of classes resulted in a painful collision between expectation and reality. The techniques the Volunteers had acquired in training and elsewhere seemed to have distressingly little applicability to actual classroom conditions. The cultural differences between student and teacher so tiresomely cited were in real life stunning for many. Some Volunteers quickly concluded that they knew far less about bridging these barriers than they had imagined. There was pressure from headmasters, some of whom wondered aloud just how technically proficient these young Volunteers were. This is a system where standards count for something, after all, and being young, energetic and accessible to students doesn't equate with pedagogical expertise. Some Volunteers felt keenly the need to prove themselves as mature professionals with full credentials and established abilities. Some had difficulty in doing so.

We have now had about six weeks under our belts, and it seems safe to report that, by and large, things are going well. We've had a few premature terminations, mostly people who arrived in-country late and found teaching demands, when coupled with everything else in the bewilderingly strange environment, just a bit too much to handle. These persons left for home (at their own expense, I might add). We've had one psychological situation which caused a temporary withdrawal from duty, but this matter is clearing up.

At the other end of the continuum, we have a fair number of teachers who are not only doing well but doing *brilliantly*. A few of these even maintain that they have warm, lasting relationships with their host country counterparts. (My own suspicion is that after the novelty wears off, things may change, but I'm keeping an open mind.) The large majority of teachers, good A.B. generalists that they are, appear to be muddling through. They have taken, and are holding, those tough assignments the Ministry was worried about. Most feel, whatever their background, that they are in their first year of teaching.

We have had one major social get-together, the usual semi-stilted affair with the Minister, the Director-General and other functionaries (the last-named ogling the new Peace Corps women in mini-skirts) with potato chips and orange squash all around, high-flown promises of joint achievement for a brighter tomorrow, etc. There's been another social involving all the Volunteers from various non-teaching projects in the area, and plans are afoot for small, problem-related sessions for Volunteer teachers. We are getting out a mimeographed list of all Volunteers' addresses at their posts. Several Volunteers are attempting to move the whole group into joint action, and movement into political spheres is even in consideration. (You here in Washington will be relieved

to know that I am keeping a very close eye indeed on *that* possibility.)

Certain Peace Corps Volunteers have gotten involved in projects outside their teaching area. These projects flesh out the total experience, giving the teacher a three-dimensional understanding of the cultural setting of the children he is attempting to reach in the classroom. Others feel they are educators first and last, that teaching is and should be totally absorbing and that mucking about in the barrios is often self-serving, sentimental fiddle-faddle anyway. This is, you will recognize, a brand new tension in the Peace Corps Volunteer teacher's role.

Beyond luxury

It might also be noted in passing that these Volunteers are living in meagre circumstances. Many of them have had to give up exceedingly comfortable lives to take on this challenge. The mundane problems of getting one's meals, marketing, seeing to the laundry, arranging housing, paying the bills—these are new responsibilities for many of our Volunteers.

Then there is the problem of staff support. Peace Corps Washington, in its wisdom, has not seen fit to allocate us a single contractor's overseas representative. (Where this latest economy orgy will get you people, I don't know, but it's not helping us in the field.) It goes without saying that repeated requests for a Land Rover have been ignored. As for me, I work full-time for the Ministry as director of Inter-Tribal Affairs (a depressingly hopeless task) and I am able to give no more than perhaps an hour in a 50-hour week to my rep's duties. This means a Volunteer to staff ratio of something like 8,750 to one—a figure that would have put Sargent Shriver, Peace Corps headquarters and the whole Congress into orbit and onto the moon. Not a bad idea, when you think about it.

This is the first report on Philadelphia I. The returned Peace Corps Volunteers who comprise the teaching group have been at work in the city's schools since September. Their sometime representative, Robert Blackburn, first served with the Peace Corps as deputy director in Somalia. Now he is director of the Office of Integration and Intergroup Education in Philadelphia.

A matter of vintage

New wine: Harris Wofford, former associate director of the Peace Corps, related this commentary in an article published in *Newsday*:

"The Peace Corps is not the property of any President or Congress or any one administration or party; it was meant for all seasons. And to muzzle Volunteers in the name of saving the Peace Corps from being muzzled is the logic of defeat. The other course is for the Peace Corps to save itself by fighting to protect its first principles.

"President Johnson will remember how in the early days he helped Sargent Shriver do just this, even against a decision of President Kennedy. A presidential task force had recommended against any real independence for the Peace Corps; it said the new agency should be a part of the Agency for International Development. Shriver fought within the White House and lost. Finally he took his case to Lyndon Johnson, who intervened personally and persuaded Kennedy to reverse the decision. To win in Congress and public opinion, he said, the new wine has to be in a new bottle."

"We have no wars, no taxes, no riots, no urban blight! . . . Who said WE'RE an underdeveloped nation?"

Courtesy of The Washington Post and Publishers-Hall Syndicate

LETTERS TO THE VOLUNTEER

One for literacy

To THE VOLUNTEER:

It was obvious in the earliest years of the Peace Corps that the Volunteers going to South America in community development had the most difficult assignment in the Peace Corps. The lack of definition of what constituted community development and the lack of job structure called for a good deal of cultural and social insight on the part of the Volunteers so that they could define for themselves what needed to be done and what could be done. Most of the Volunteers had no overseas experience and actually little experience which would give them insight into the cultural and social structure of their own communities. That these Volunteers were less successful than a worldwide sample is not surprising nor should it be alarming. I am surprised that they rated as closely to the overall sample as the statistics indicate. However, by now enough experience has been gained to indicate which projects can be successful, and, hopefully, roles can now be structured. This will allow more Volunteers to experience success, and will probably not prevent those capable of discovering new areas for development from expanding their roles.

Julien Phillips ("Prospects for the urban Peace Corps," July) outlined some of the areas where the potential for success has been demonstrated. I know nothing about the problems and obstacles facing the poor in the cities of South America, but I was surprised that adult literacy was not included as an area for potential development by Volunteers. If illiteracy is as widespread among the urban poor as I have been led to believe, it may be worthwhile to consider the following questions: Would literacy make more jobs accessible to the *barrio bajo* resident? Would literacy increase the potential for success of other community development projects? Would adult literacy encourage parents to support and encourage the education of their children? Could adult literacy mitigate the not infrequent problem of children, as they acquire an education, alienating themselves from their parents? Spelling and grammar of Spanish and Portuguese are very regular and should be easily learned by native speakers. Success in reading teaching projects should be apparent after a relatively short time. Literacy classes could be easily integrated with other projects. Reading practice material could be selected to teach public health, family planning (*cuidado!*), community cooperation, etc. I would be very interested in the reaction of Volunteers who have worked in South America as to the need for and value of Peace Corps participation in an adult literacy campaign there.

LARRY D. SIMMONS
Former Volunteer

Redondo Beach, Calif.

Choosing relevant goals

To THE VOLUNTEER:

While Gary Bergthold's article (August) provided useful guides for measurements in structured programs, he seems to have left the poor community development Volunteer up in the air.

Unlike Mr. Bergthold, I do not see community development as a goal per se. Instead, it seems to be an unstructured area of endeavor in which various tangible and intangible goals may be set.

How does the community development worker measure or set a goal for a nutrition program? Is its objective whether or not mothers learn the importance of proper nutrition? Is it that the mothers have cooperated and worked together to obtain and maintain the program? Or is the goal to get food into the tightly swollen little stomachs of the children? And, if the first two goals weren't satisfactorily realized, what value do we give to the third? Perhaps we should be satisfied when we actually see a child lap up the last drop of milk?

To measure a Volunteer's effort in community development means measuring each specific endeavor. This would consume more time than the Volunteer has. Also, if we were to measure each specific action, the results still might not help us establish meaningful goals which could then be generalized for use in other situations. In community development, groups and situations vary tremendously.

I don't reject the idea that valuations can be made in community development goals; however, they must be flexible and relative. I think each of us as a CD Volunteer is seeking to evaluate our own work and fix relevant goals. Unfortunately, many, like me, have been stopped short by a lack of precise knowledge of how to measure. We need help from someone with experience in quantification—someone who can translate our subjective definitions of goals and performance into a specific quantitative measuring system.

NANCY MILES

Guatajiagua, El Salvador

Mr. Bergthold replies: I agree with all of the ideas expressed in this thoughtful letter, especially that care in setting objectives is important for "unstructured" programs. Miss Miles is correct in noticing my unintentional slight of community development Volunteers but my little knowledge of their job suggests to me that their biggest task is imposing structure (i.e. sorting out objectives and acting on the most important of them) on an undifferentiated (to them) environment. I heartily endorse the last point in the letter and I feel that associate directors should be trained in technique for helping Volunteers to evaluate their work and fix relevant goals. A few are doing this on their own with excellent results in Volunteer productivity and morale.

A view of Africa CD

To THE VOLUNTEER:

Mr. Rebell (July) apparently has an excellent grasp of community development theory. Yet I question just how much experience he has had trying to put community development theory into practice. His six-month tour in a "small, isolated village" was hardly enough time to get acquainted —certainly not enough time to expect results. The conclusion he reached after six months that "community development is an unattainable and irrelevant ideal at this stage in the development of most areas of Africa" can only be described as unsubstantiated and somewhat premature.

However, most of Mr. Rebell's conclusions seem not to be based on personal experience but rather on views and opinions expressed by his students. Here again, I would raise the question of validity. What percentage of his students, even those from remote areas, belong to upper class families–families now in power? Certainly the sons of ruling chieftains are not going to admit that "self help" for the villagers is either feasible or desirable. To do so would undermine the very basis of their now uncontested authority.

Community development work in traditional societies is difficult–granted. But as of yet I know of no faster way to develop and expand alternative leadership groups. Until such leadership is available, traditional chieftains will continue to wield power in developing countries.

DOUGLAS W. LUDY
Hanamkonda, India

A 27-month honeymoon?

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

We enjoyed very much the September edition. We were beginning to wonder when recognition would be coming to the married couples. For us, our entire married life has been Peace Corps, having been married one week before training began.

However, we have to comment on the article "Training: no honeymoon retreat." Perhaps for many, Peace Corps training is a lousy place to spend a honeymoon, but it does not have to be. If a husband and wife have dedicated themselves to two years of voluntary work and have made efforts to acquaint themselves with the work and mission of Peace Corps, training and work as a Volunteer can be a 27-month honeymoon. The secret is to recognize your weaknesses and strengths, for many times the weaknesses of one partner are the strengths of the other. By taking advantage of the strengths of the two, great efforts can be made. By arriving at this recognition, as married couples, or teams, we can better express ourselves in our work and actions. Thus each is allowed, as an individual, and a team, to accomplish his utmost.

For us, training was a honeymoon and after 10 months of work as Volunteers, we still think of ourselves as being on our honeymoon.

LE ROY AND HAZEL MABERY
Tecoluca, El Salvador

Memorandum

TO : The field DATE: December, 1967
FROM : The editors
SUBJECT: New tags for Volunteers

One of the most distinguished Peace Corps mothers is now a Volunteer. She is Mrs. Jeanette Stafford, a retired teacher, whose son, Doug, is the director of the Peace Corps Office of Administration. Mrs. Stafford, a widow, taught English at university and high school levels in New York State for more than 30 years, and is now teaching at Divine Word University at Tacloban, Leyte, the Philippines. She is shown here with her son and Director Jack Vaughn.

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Banner headline over a message from the country director, in the Korea Volunteer newspaper, *Yobosayo*: "Boss Urges Gang to Hang Tough." That's reminiscent of the Marine officer-turned-rep in Africa who referred to Volunteers as "the troops."

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Another item from Korea concerns educational inventory. Teacher Bonnie J. Dopp reports that when Volunteers scanned a host national list of educational assets in her province they found schools, libraries, etc. Finally, near the end of the list, they found "Peace Corps Volunteers" under the heading of "Audiovisual Aids."

□ □ □

Former Volunteers change addresses so often that Mary-Rita Tascketta, director of the Career Information Service, has tagged them "The Gypsy Generation."

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Extracurricular department: Every year baton twirlers from the U.S. participate in the Spring Festival at Trujillo, Peru. This year, the star was Sue Knolhoff, an experienced twirler. Howard M. Sachs, Richard Grot and Lawrence Miller, Volunteers in Trujillo, sent us the above photo of Mrs. Knolhoff with the accolade: "She gave the Peace Corps in Trujillo the best publicity we've ever had."

Peace Corps to intervene for Volunteers seeking deferments

Because of mounting induction calls made to Volunteers overseas, the Peace Corps has determined to intervene on behalf of all Volunteers seeking draft deferments during the course of their service.

Director Jack Vaughn will write letters on behalf of Volunteers to the Presidential Appeal Board, the court of last resort for draft reclassifications, describing the circumstances of each case and urging board members to grant a deferment until completion of service.

"We have a serious situation," Vaughn said. "The problem of induction notices to overseas Volunteers is becoming a major concern for us. Pulling a Volunteer off a productive job at mid-tour is unfair to the nation, the host country, the Peace Corps and the individual."

About 60 Volunteers have lost deferment appeals before the three-man national board. While these adverse rulings have involved less than one-half of one per cent of the estimated 15,000 draft-eligible men to have served in the Peace Corps, Vaughn noted that "virtually all of these have occurred in the past year."

By early November about 30 Volunteers had terminated their service and returned to the U.S. for induction, though only 12 of these were actually in uniform. Two who returned for induction were disqualified for physical reasons and resumed their Peace Corps service.

Previous to the decision to intervene with the Presidential Appeal Board, the Peace Corps had performed a largely informational function in advising Volunteers and trainees of Selective Service laws and procedures, in addition to confirming to local boards the fact of the Volunteer's service. This function has been performed through the Peace Corps Legal Liaison Office headed by Marthanne Parker in Washington, and will be continued. Miss Parker has advised all trainees and Volunteers to keep her office informed of their draft status and particularly of any changes in their draft classification.

The vast majority of Volunteers are granted deferments during their two years of overseas duty because their service is deemed by their local boards to be "in the national interest," as recommended by Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, the draft director.

However, some local Selective Service boards refuse deferments even though Peace Corps service does not relieve Volunteers of their draft obligations. If the local board is upheld by the State Appeal Board, the case may reach the Presidential Appeal Board which makes the final decision.

The appeal process often takes months to be resolved and the Peace Corps frequently sends Volunteers to their overseas sites while their appeals for deferment are pending.

Vaughn said that the Peace Corps, having provided upwards of 400 hours of intensive language training during the 12 to 14 weeks of preparation, often sends Volunteers overseas to begin service "rather than risk the loss of their newly earned language fluency during the long waits for final approval or disapproval of deferment requests."

Vaughn said, "So long as the chances for deferment are good this system makes sense, but as more and more Volunteers lose their appeals we may have to reconsider the process and keep them, a wasting asset, in the United States until their cases are resolved."

He also said induction calls for Volunteers overseas "disrupts the continuity of carefully planned projects by host country governments who have also invested a large amount of time and money in the program."

Vaughn also noted that in a number of cases, host country governments have been unable to replace drafted Volunteer teachers.

A growing profession

According to the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service, there are almost 100,000 full-time volunteers at work in the world.

Specifically, ISVS reports an estimated 99,321 volunteers engaged in 86 countries. These include volunteers in programs with full government sponsorship and support and and those in programs that combine government and private sponsorship and support.

By far the largest number of volunteers (62,642) are engaged in national youth service programs in 22 nations. Eighteen nations use 17,368 full-time domestic volunteers, and there are 19,311 export volunteers (including 11,876 Peace Corps Volunteers) sent abroad by 24 countries. The totals represent volunteers as of June 30, 1967.

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